UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/24719
27 October 1992
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

NOTE BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Following consultations with the members of the Security Council, the President of the Council made the following statement, on behalf of the Council, at its 3125th meeting, held on 27 October 1992, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation in Mozambique":

"The Security Council has taken note of the letter dated 23 October 1992 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council concerning the situation in Mozambique. It expresses its gratitude to the Secretary-General and to his interim Special Representative for their efforts to ensure that the United Nations contribute to the implementation of the General Peace Agreement in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement.

"The Council remains deeply concerned by the reports of major violations of the cease-fire in several regions of Mozambique. It calls upon the parties to halt such violations immediately and scrupulously to respect the cease-fire and all the commitments entered into under the General Peace Agreement. It also urges the parties to cooperate fully with the interim Special Representative, and in particular to take all measures necessary to ensure the safety of United Nations staff in Mozambique.

"The Council wishes to reiterate its firm commitment to work towards a lasting peace in Mozambique. In this regard, it urges the parties to respect fully the cease-fire, which is a necessary condition for the speedy establishment and successful deployment of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)."

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UNITED
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Security Council

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GENERAL

S/24720
27 October 1992
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NOTE BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Following consultations with the members of the Security Council, the President of the Council made the following statement, on behalf of the Council, at its 3126th meeting, held on 27 October 1992, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "Letter dated 27 October 1992 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council":

"The Security Council has taken note of the letter dated 27 October 1992 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Council concerning the situation in Angola. It expresses its serious concern at the deterioration of the political situation and the rising tension in that country.

"It once again calls upon the parties to the Peace Accords to abide by all the commitments entered into under the Accords, in particular with regard to the confinement of their troops and collection of their weapons, demobilization and the formation of the unified national armed force. It also requests the parties to refrain from any act that might heighten tension, jeopardize the continued conduct of the electoral process and threaten the territorial integrity of Angola.

"The Security Council requests the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) to respect the results of the elections held on 29 and 30 September 1992, which the Special Representative of the Secretary-General certified as generally free and fair. It urges the leaders of the two parties to the Peace Accords to engage in a dialogue without delay so as to enable the second round of the presidential elections to be held. The Security Council will hold responsible any party which refuses to take part in such a dialogue, thereby jeopardizing the entire process.

"The Security Council strongly condemns the attacks and baseless accusations made by UNITA's radio station, Vorgan, against the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II). It requests the immediate cessation of these attacks and accusations and reiterates its full support for the Special Representative and for UNAVEM II.

"The Security Council reiterates its readiness to act without delay on the basis of recommendations that the Secretary-General might make concerning the contribution of the United Nations to the completion of the electoral process."

UNITED NATIONS

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Security Council

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GENERAL

S/24720*
28 October 1992
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

NOTE BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Following consultations with the members of the Security Council, the President of the Council made the following statement, on behalf of the Council, at its 3126th meeting, held on 27 October 1992, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "Letter dated 27 October 1992 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council":

"The Security Council has taken note of the letter dated 27 October 1992 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Council concerning the situation in Angola. It expresses its serious concern at the deterioration of the political situation and the rising tension in that country.

"It once again calls on the parties to the Peace Accords to respect all the commitments undertaken in accordance with these accords, in particular with regard to the confinement of their troops and weapons, demobilization, and formation of the unified national Armed Force. It also calls on the parties to refrain from any act that might heighten tension, impair the conduct of the electoral process and threaten the territorial integrity of Angola.

"The Security Council calls on UNITA and the other parties in the electoral process in Angola to respect the results of the elections held on 29 and 30 September 1992, which the Special Representative of the Secretary-General certified as being generally free and fair. It urges the leaders of the two parties to the Peace Accords to engage in a dialogue without delay so as to enable the second round of the presidential elections to be held. The Security Council will hold responsible any party which refuses to take part in such a dialogue, thereby jeopardizing the entire process.

"The Security Council strongly condemns the attacks and baseless accusations made by Vorgan radio of UNITA against the Special

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* Reissued for technical reasons.

Representative of the Secretary-General and the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II). It calls for the immediate cessation of these attacks and accusations, and reiterates its full support for the Special Representative and for UNAVEM II.

"The Security Council reiterates its readiness to act without delay on the basis of recommendations that the Secretary-General might make concerning the contribution of the United Nations to the completion of the electoral process."

UNITED
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Security Council

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GENERAL

S/24721
27 October 1992
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

NOTE BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Following consultations with the members of the Security Council, the President of the Council made the following statement, on behalf of the Council, at its 3127th meeting, held on 27 October 1992, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation relating to Nagorny Karabakh":

"The Security Council is deeply concerned by the grave situation which continues to prevail in Nagorny Karabakh and surrounding districts, and also by the resulting loss of human life and destruction of property, despite the cease-fire agreement concluded at Sochi on 21 September 1992.

"The Security Council reaffirms the terms of its statement of 26 August 1992 (S/24493) on the situation concerning Nagorny Karabakh, and in particular its support for the efforts of the Minsk Conference on the Nagorny Karabakh question within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). It strongly urges all the parties and others concerned to implement the cease-fire forthwith and to lift all blockades. It requests that the Minsk Conference be convened immediately and that political negotiations be undertaken in accordance with the President's rules of procedure. It urges all the parties and others concerned to cooperate closely with the CSCE and to participate positively in the Conference in order to reach an overall settlement of their disputes as soon as possible.

"The Security Council welcomes the intention of the Secretary-General to send a representative to the region to evaluate the contribution which the United Nations might make in supporting the efforts of the CSCE and in providing humanitarian assistance."

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UNITED
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Security Council

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GENERAL

S/24722
28 October 1992

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

NOTE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

The Secretary-General has the honour to transmit to the Security Council the attached report of the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency on the implementation of the Agency's plan for future ongoing monitoring and verification of Iraq's compliance with paragraph 12 of resolution 687 (1991).

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Annex

Letter dated 30 September 1992 from the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency addressed to the Secretary-General

In paragraph 8 of its resolution 715 (1991), of 11 October 1991, the Security Council requested the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency to submit to the Council reports on the implementation of the Agency's plan for future ongoing monitoring and verification of Iraq's compliance with paragraph 12 of resolution 687 (1991). These reports are to be submitted when requested by the Council and, in any event, at least every six months after the adoption of resolution 715 (1991). The first such report was submitted to you on 11 April 1992 and distributed to the Security Council in document S/23813 of 15 April 1992.

Accordingly, I am requesting you to kindly transmit the enclosed second six-month report on the implementation of the plan and remain available for any consultation you or the Council may wish to have.

(Signed) Hans BLIX

Enclosure

SECOND REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGENCY'S PLAN FOR FUTURE ONGOING MONITORING AND VERIFICATION OF IRAQ'S COMPLIANCE WITH PARAGRAPH 12 OF RESOLUTION 687 (1991)

1. On 11 October 1991, the Security Council adopted resolution 715 (1991) approving, inter alia, the plan submitted in document S/22872/Rev.1 and Corr.1 by the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency for future ongoing monitoring and verification of Iraq's compliance with paragraph 12 of part C of Security Council resolution 687 (1991) and with the requirements of paragraphs 3 and 5 of resolution 707 (1991). In paragraph 8 of resolution 715 (1991), the Security Council requested the Director General of IAEA to submit to it reports on the implementation of the plan when requested by the Security Council and, in any event, at least every six months after the adoption of resolution 715 (1991). The first six-month report submitted by the Director General was circulated on 15 April 1992 as document S/23813.

2. The Director General hereby submits the second six-month report on implementation of the plan for future ongoing monitoring and verification related to Iraq's nuclear capabilities.

3. As reported in S/23813, the Iraqi authorities had submitted to IAEA information declared to be that required pursuant to paragraph 22 of the plan. The scope of the submissions did not conform with the provisions related to information requirements, set forth in annex 2 of the plan, in so far as the Iraqis included only those items belonging to the Iraqi Atomic Energy Commission, rather than all relevant items located in Iraq as required in paragraph 1 of annex 2, and the information provided did not reflect the situation as of 1 January 1989. In addition, the form of the submissions made it difficult to assess the comprehensiveness and completeness of the information.

4. In the course of the eleventh IAEA inspection (7-15 April 1992), the Iraqi authorities agreed to provide revised and updated inventories. The Iraqis also requested clarification of the list of items to be reported to the Agency as identified in annex 3 of the plan.

5. During the eleventh inspection, the Iraqis were also requested to provide information concerning the suppliers of maraging steel, carbon fibre centrifuge rotors and enrichment-related technology. The Iraqi reply suggested that the information could be forthcoming by the next inspection.

6. During the twelfth IAEA inspection (26 May-4 June 1992) the Iraqi authorities provided a revised declaration of their nuclear programme, referred to by Iraq as the "full, final and complete" report required by Security Council resolution 707 (1991). The first such declaration, considered as a draft, had been handed over to the Director General in the course of the March 1992 Security Council discussions on Iraq. However, they

refused to provide the information concerning the suppliers of the enrichment equipment and technology as requested in the previous inspection. This remains an open question, with no indication from the Iraqi authorities that such information will be forthcoming. Moreover, stiffening resistance to certain inspection activities was experienced.

7. As to the updated and revised inventories, the Iraqi authorities were reminded of their obligation to submit semi-annual reports, the next one falling due on 15 July 1992, and were provided with clarifications with regard to items listed in annex 3 of the plan.

8. Following consultations with the Special Commission and notification to the Security Council, Iraq was provided with a revision of annex 3 of the plan, as contemplated in paragraph 41 of the plan. Additional clarifications were requested by and discussed with the Iraqi authorities during the thirteenth and fourteenth IAEA inspections (14-21 July and 31 August-7 September 1992), and it is now expected that updated inventories will be submitted by Iraq.

9. On 11 December 1991, IAEA received from Iraq a request that the import of certain radioisotopes for use in nuclear medicine applications be exempted from the sanctions imposed by the Security Council. The request was referred to the Secretary-General. On 28 January 1992, IAEA was advised that the Security Council Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) agreed to the Iraqi request, subject to procedures for each shipment of such material, specifically:

(a) The Iraqi Government must first secure technical clearance from IAEA;

(b) The exporting country must request the Committee's approval, attaching to that request a copy of IAEA's technical approval;

(c) In order to facilitate its own decisions, the Committee invited IAEA to transmit to it copies of all Iraqi requests for approval for the import of radioactive isotopes, and of the Agency's response thereto.

10. The Iraqi authorities were notified accordingly and on 14 January 1992 submitted to IAEA a letter containing information required pursuant to paragraph 25 of the plan concerning the proposed import by Iraq of radioactive isotopes intended for diagnosis and medical treatment. IAEA concluded that the request complied as a technical matter with the requirements of Security Council resolution 707 (1991), paragraph 3 (vi), and with the provisions of the plan, and notified the Security Council Committee and the Iraqi authorities.

11. On 26 March 1992, the Iraqi authorities submitted to IAEA a list of research projects involving the use of a number of specified radioisotopes. Following the receipt of certain clarifications and additional information required pursuant to paragraphs 22 and 25 and annex 2 of the plan, IAEA advised Iraq by letter of 7 July 1992 of IAEA's technical approval of 42 of

the 44 projects. The two remaining projects, in the opinion of IAEA, could be linked to research and development in the reprocessing area and to site qualification of nuclear power plants, activities proscribed under resolutions 687 (1991) and/or 707 (1991), and therefore could not be approved by IAEA.

12. On 25 September 1992, the thirty-sixth General Conference of IAEA adopted a resolution (GC(XXXVI)/1043) demanding, inter alia, that Iraq "fully and immediately comply with all of its obligations under its safeguards agreement with the Agency and under relevant Security Council resolutions, including the requirement under Security Council resolution 707 (1991) that it submit a full, final and complete declaration of Iraq's nuclear programme which includes all information called for by Security Council resolution 687 (1991)". The resolution further requested the Director General to "take, as soon as possible, the necessary measures for the implementation of the long-term monitoring plan, in accordance with Security Council resolution 715 (1991)".

13. In conclusion, the full implementation of the plan for future ongoing monitoring and verification of Iraq's compliance with paragraph 12 of resolution 687 (1991) will be possible only once the Iraqi authorities have fully complied with the information requirements laid down in document S/22872/Rev.1 and Corr.1, including the revised annex 3, as indicated in paragraphs 4, 7 and 8 of the present report. There are indications that this information is in the process of being compiled by the Iraqis. In the meantime, the Agency has already started to implement those components of the plan which do not depend on the availability of additional information from the Iraqi authorities, including the following:

- Periodic checks of Agency seals applied to nuclear and other materials, equipment and machine tools;

- Visits to sites where facilities and equipment which had been identified as related to Iraq's nuclear weapons programme during previous inspections, to verify that no nuclear activity is resumed;

- Analysis of high and low altitude imagery of any known nuclear sites in Iraq to identify the purpose of new buildings or to detect other activities which might require further on-site inspection;

- Initiation of a project aimed at periodic radiometric surveys of the main water bodies in Iraq to permit the detection of the presence, or resurgence, of major nuclear activities.

UNITED NATIONS

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General Assembly Security Council

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S/24723
28 October 1992
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ARABIC

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Forty-seventh session
Agenda item 35
SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-seventh year

Letter dated 28 October 1992 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

On instructions from my Government and with reference to our earlier correspondence concerning Israeli acts of aggression on Lebanese territory, I have the honour to inform you below of the new Israeli attacks on Lebanese towns and villages in various areas during the last few days.

1. At noon on Monday, 26 October 1992, Ain Tine in the western Bekaa and the areas around the course of the Litani river were subjected to bombardment with 155-millimetre artillery from the occupied border strip, at a rate of one shell per minute. This caused a large-scale exodus of population from the above-mentioned village and from Maidoun and Machgara.

2. At noon on the same day, Jebaa was subjected to bombardment with 155-millimetre artillery and tank guns, which caused great damage to property and started fires in wooded areas owing to the use of fragmentation shells.

3. At 1330 hours on 26 October 1992, Zawtar El-Gharbieh, Mazraat El-Hamra, Kaakaye and Mrouj were subjected to artillery bombardment from the positions of the occupation forces at Tallet El-Shraika.

4. At 1355 hours on 26 October 1992, Kfartbnit was subjected to shelling by the Israeli tanks at Tallet Ali Taher. Thirteen villagers were wounded, including a number of children.

5. On the same date, Israeli helicopters fired rockets at the homes of citizens in the same village (Kfartbnit), causing large-scale material damage.

6. At 1620 hours on 26 October 1992, an Israeli helicopter fired two rockets at a house in Zawtar El-Charkieh, while another helicopter raided the outskirts of the village, causing four deaths among the population.

7. At 1640 hours on the same day, two Israeli Air Force aircraft carried out a raid on the Jabal Safi, Mlita, Jarjou and Ain Bossoir areas, causing damage to property.

8. At 1650 hours on 26 October 1992, four Israeli aircraft carried out a raid on the Maidoun and Ain Tine areas.

9. At 1900 hours on the same date, Israeli military aircraft carried out a raid on the Maximus V Hakim School in the village of Abra east of Sidon, destroying the building and causing large-scale damage to neighbouring buildings.

10. At the same time on the same date, Qilya, Dallafa and Ain Tine were subjected to artillery bombardment, and the Lebanese army posts there were hit.

11. At 1940 hours on 26 October 1992, Zawtar El-Charkieh, Zawtar El-Gharbieh and Jebchit were subjected to bombardment with 155-millimetre artillery from the occupied strip.

12. At 1945 hours, the Mrouj area on the outskirts of Kfarfila, Jebaa and Loueize were subjected to mortar bombardment from occupied Tallet El-Nabi Soujoud.

13. At 2000 hours on the same date, the outskirts of Nabatiye, Kfarjoz, Habbouche, Kfour, Deir Zahrani and Toul were hit by 155-millimetre phosphorous shells, which started fires in the wooded areas belonging to Toul.

14. At 2000 hours on the afternoon of 26 October 1992, the Palestine refugee camp at Nahr El-Bared in northern Lebanon was subjected to violent artillery bombardment by the Israeli army. The bombardment was resumed at 2134 hours and caused fires inside the camp, the death of one person and the wounding of a number of others.

15. At 1245 hours on 27 October 1992, Israeli military aircraft conducted a raid on a building in Kab Elias in the Bekaa, destroying the building and leaving two dead and five wounded.

16. At the same time on the same date, Israeli aircraft conducted a raid on the farmland of Beit Touchoum, east of Hermel in the northern Bekaa, causing the wounding of one Lebanese woman and the death of three other persons.

17. At 0130 hours on 27 October 1992, the Machgara electric power plant was subjected to bombardment with 120-millimetre mortar shells. The plant suffered a direct hit and was put out of operation.

The above-mentioned attacks have caused the deaths of more than 13 persons, the wounding of dozens more and enormous damage to property, as well as the flight of thousands of innocent citizens to safe areas. The attacks were accompanied by constant overflights by Israeli aircraft and by the massing of armoured units of the Israeli army in the occupied territory in southern Lebanon. In addition, Israeli officials have made various statements expressing their intentions to continue the acts of aggression against the Lebanese population and territory.

The Lebanese Government, in censuring and condemning the latest Israeli attacks, draws the attention of the Secretary-General and the members of the Security Council, in particular the five permanent members, to the danger and extent of the military operations directed against civilians in Lebanese towns and villages in the south, the Bekaa and the north. These attacks are unjustified and are incompatible with the Israeli Government's assertion that it is responding to the limited national resistance operations, which are a natural result of the continuation of the Israeli occupation of Lebanese territory in the south and the western Bekaa.

The Lebanese Government calls upon the international Organization, with its specialized bodies, especially the Security Council, to put an end to the Israeli violations and acts of violence against Lebanon and the Lebanese by the implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978) which provides for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces and a halt to the continuing Israeli aggression against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon and the rights of its citizens.

The Lebanese Government affirms that, while it is anxious to continue the peace talks and to strive for their success, the Israeli attacks will not dissuade it from pursuing the question of the liberation of the occupied Lebanese south, as a national and political priority that it will strive to achieve with all its power and with international support.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 35, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Khalil MAKKAWI
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

UNITED
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Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/24724
28 October 1992

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 23 OCTOBER 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF MOZAMBIQUE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I am transmitting to you herewith the text of a communiqué issued by the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Mozambique on 20 October 1992, concerning the implementation of the General Peace Agreement for Mozambique.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter and its annex circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Pedro Comissario AFONSO
Ambassador Extraordinary
and Plenipotentiary
Permanent Representative
to the United Nations

Annex

Communiqué by the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Mozambique

The signing of the General Peace Agreement on 4 October 1992 in Rome by the President of the Republic of Mozambique, Joaquim Alberto Chissano, and by the leader of RENAMO, Afonso Macacho Marceta Dhlakama, has signified for all the Mozambican people and for the international community the end of the war, beginning with the immediate cessation of hostilities between the parties until the formal entry into effect of the cease-fire.

The Assembly of the Republic has unanimously approved the General Peace Agreement, incorporating it into the national law. The publication of the Agreement on 15 October 1992, in the Official Gazette ("Boletim da Republica"), marked the formal start of the cease-fire.

The General Peace Agreement, in its various Protocols, calls for the existence and operation of suitable mechanisms, agreed upon between the parties, concerning the supervision and monitoring of the implementation of the General Peace Agreement, under the chairmanship of the United Nations.

Both parties - the Government and RENAMO - agreed on 15 October 1992 as the date for the entry into effect of the cease-fire, with all the consequences arising therefrom.

In this context, the Secretary-General of the United Nations has appointed his Representative as Chairman of the Commission for Supervision and Monitoring of the General Peace Agreement, who arrived in Maputo on 15 October 1992, as well as the Head of the United Nations Military Observers Team, who arrived in Maputo on 14 October 1992, along with part of the first Team of Observers.

On 15 October 1992, the President of the Republic received in audience the Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. ALDO AJELLO, whom he advised of the steps that were being taken by the Government with a view to complying with the obligations arising from the General Peace Agreement.

The Secretary-General's Representative was then informed of:

- the composition of the representation of the Government in the various Commissions set forth in the General Peace Agreement;

- the measures taken and under way to facilitate accommodations for the RENAMO members designated to form part of the Commission;

- the measures taken and under way to secure accommodations for the United Nations Observers.

The Head of State asked the Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General to take immediate steps in order to ensure that the Commissions set forth in the General Peace Agreement begin to operate, in order to prevent delays already at the outset.

The Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General informed the Head of State of his availability to travel immediately to Gorongoza and persuade RENAMO's President to send his delegates.

Within the spirit of assuring compliance with the Agreement, the Government also asked RENAMO, through its representative in the COMIVE, to provide information about the date of arrival of its representatives, having been informed that the latter had not left, due to lack of means of transportation between Maringue and Maputo.

Having made arrangements to provide a small plane for the trip, from Maputo and Beira, and while awaiting communication as to the time when it should arrive in Maringue, the Government was informed that the RENAMO delegation was not coming, because RENAMO first wanted to know about the conditions for their accommodations.

Still within the same spirit, on 15 October 1992, the President of the Republic formally communicated to the RENAMO representative in the COMIVE (International Joint Verification Commission) the answers to the concerns expressed by the RENAMO leaders as to:

- housing
- security
- meals
- identification
- liaison with the media,

assuring that the conditions had been ensured and that the arrangements should follow through.

On 18 October 1992, the RENAMO representative in the COMIVE, in an interview given to the national and international media, released a statement by its organization which makes reference to an alleged movement of the Armed Forces of Mozambique towards zones supposedly under RENAMO's control, affirming that this was due to the lack of willingness on the part of the Government to abide by the Agreement, threatening with retaliation.

It is in this context that on 17 October 1992, armed RENAMO elements attacked, assaulted, and occupied the capital of the district of Maganja de Costa; on 18 and 19 October 1992, they attacked, assaulted and occupied the capital of the district of Angoche, and on 19 October 1992, they

attacked, assaulted and occupied the capital of the district (capital) of Memba, at the same time that concentrations of troops are occurring in various parts of the country, with objectives that are not very clear.

Thus, and taking into account: that the Government has done everything in its power to ensure compliance with the General Peace Agreement, keeping the Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General informed, that the Government has regarded very positively the logistical support that the Armed Forces of Mozambique have been supplying to the RENAMO people when they request it peacefully; that the Government has been encouraging a spirit of reconciliation between the members of the Armed Forces of Mozambique and those of RENAMO.

The Government considers that RENAMO's behaviour, namely:

- Not having itself been represented in the commission set forth in the General Peace Agreement with the task of supervising and monitoring its implementation,

- Launching offensives against civilian targets, in a deliberate strategy of conquest of territories and strategic positions,

- Issuing statements instead of using the agreed-on mechanism as an advance justification for the violations that it set out to commit,

constitutes a grave and systematic violation that seriously jeopardizes the General Peace Agreement.

The actions and attitudes of each party leave no margin for questions about who is willing to comply and will comply and who is determined to violate the General Peace Agreement and, in particular, the cease-fire.

Thus, to the proclaimed and so-welcomed reconciliation of brothers, there are those who wish to oppose or superimpose and perpetuate the rationale and methods of an enemy in open defiance to the Mozambican people and the international community.

The Government has already notified the Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General that RENAMO be ordered to comply with the General Peace Agreement and to conduct its activities in accordance with the parameters set forth therein.

The Government appeals to all Mozambicans so that they may know how to defend the General Peace Agreement, exercising the necessary vigilance against all those who, driven by ambition and by an anti-patriotic and warlike spirit, do everything to jeopardize it. In view of the gravity of the situation, the Government assumes the responsibilities that befall it in the defence and security of the peoples and reserves the right to take the measures it deems suitable to put an end to the violations that have taken place and to restore the conditions for the compliance with and implementation of the General Peace Agreement.

Under the present circumstances, the Armed Forces of Mozambique must continue under a state of alert and readiness in order to drive back any move or attempt to violate the General Peace Agreement.

For Peace, Democracy, Development and National Solidarity.

Maputo, 20 October 1992

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/24725
28 October 1992
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: RUSSIAN

LETTER DATED 28 OCTOBER 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a statement dated 24 October 1992 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation in connection with the events in Tajikistan.

I should be grateful if you would have the text of this letter and its annex circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Y. VORONTSOV
Permanent Representative of
the Russian Federation to
the United Nations

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Annex

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION IN CONNECTION WITH THE EVENTS IN TAJIKISTAN

24 October 1992

Recent events in Tajikistan and the intensifying military confrontation in that republic are causing deep concern in the Russian Federation. There remains a real threat of further escalation of the conflict and expansion of the civil war. This could have catastrophic consequences for the territorial integrity of Tajikistan and the security of the whole Central Asian region. A subject of particular concern to the leadership of the Russian Federation is the fate of the Russian nationals and Russian-speaking population in Tajikistan. In these extremely complex circumstances, the command of the Russian troops in Tajikistan, which continue to maintain their neutrality, has been given instructions to increase the protection of vitally important installations, military camps and homes where the families of members of the military are living. Cooperation is being extended to ensure the security of the personnel of a number of diplomatic missions in Dushanbe.

The Russian leadership calls on all the opposing groups to put an immediate end to the bloodshed and the fratricidal civil war. Political dialogue must be initiated with a view to restoring law and order, peace and national concord.

Guided by the traditional feelings of friendship between the peoples of the Russian Federation and Tajikistan, we call on the Commonwealth of Independent States, the United Nations and other international organizations actively to promote the normalization of the situation in Tajikistan. It is important that the efforts of all States, particularly Tajikistan's neighbours, be directed towards extinguishing the conflict rather than inflaming it.

UNITED
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Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/24726
29 October 1992
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ARABIC

LETTER DATED 28 OCTOBER 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF IRAQ TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a letter dated 28 October 1992 from Mr. Mohammed Said Al-Sahaf, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq, calling on the Security Council to revise its position and attitude towards Iraq.

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter and its annex circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Nizar HAMDOON
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

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Annex

Letter dated 28 October 1992 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq addressed to the Secretary-General

I

Since the adoption of Security Council resolution 687 (1991) stipulating, inter alia, that Iraq is to be deprived of certain types of weapons and imposing on it a strict prohibition with regard to their future production, the Security Council and other United Nations organs (the Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)) have been waging a ferocious and unparalleled campaign for implementation of this particular part of the resolution. Thus far, 45 inspection teams have visited Iraq, making scheduled or unannounced visits to hundreds of sites in all parts of the country and using for their inspection activities helicopters and means of surface transportation, and there have been since 12 August 1991 constant overflights of Iraq by the United States U-2 aircraft to supplement the activities of United States spy satellites.

Under strong pressure from the parties concerned in the Security Council and in response to their vehement and persistent propaganda campaigns against Iraq, the Special Commission and IAEA decided to destroy a large quantity of equipment and many buildings that it was claimed were used in the production of weapons prohibited by resolution 687 (1991). They did so despite the fact that Iraqi experts had demonstrated their possible use for civilian purposes and had even proved that they were being put to use for civilian purposes following the military aggression in the reconstruction of the country and in meeting the civilian needs of Iraqi citizens enduring the greatest suffering under the unjust blanket embargo imposed on them in August 1990 and maintained until today.

During this time, the Security Council has adopted a very large number of resolutions and statements containing the strongest and most hostile language directed against Iraq. The Government of the United States, together with the Governments of the United Kingdom and France, has adopted a persistent policy of threatening to use military force against Iraq, issuing threats against its people, its leadership, its armed forces and its civilian installations.

Anyone who traces the course of events since resolution 687 (1991) was adopted on 3 April 1991 will discover that the most ferocious campaign in the history of the United Nations, using all means of intimidation, coercion and pressure, has been waged against Iraq with the aim of achieving the objectives set forth in that resolution.

For the sake of truth and for the historical record, we are here obliged to state that most of the inspection teams that have visited Iraq behaved in a hostile manner and proceeded to engage in effrontery, provocation and the contrivance of problems without regard for the sovereignty, dignity and

security of the people of Iraq or for the scientific and technical facts relevant to the objectives set forth in resolution 687 (1991). For the most part, they have based their inspection plans not on scientific, technical and logical considerations but on the tendentious reports and data intended to provide a cover for biased and predetermined actions that were supplied to them by the intelligence agencies of certain States with well-known political designs against Iraq. Those States have used the teams' activities and certain of their members (of whom there have been many) in order to further those designs. The teams have behaved more like medieval inquisitions than technical inspection teams with well-defined objectives such as those set forth in resolution 687 (1991).

In a letter from its Minister for Foreign Affairs dated 6 April 1991, Iraq expressed its preliminary position with regard to the unjust resolution 687 (1991), which has no parallel among Security Council resolutions in the history of the United Nations. In concluding his letter, the Minister said:

> "As Iraq makes its preliminary comments on the juridical and legal aspects of this resolution, so as to encourage men of conscience in the countries members of the international community and world public opinion to make an effort to understand the truth as it is and the need to ensure the triumph of justice, it has no choice but to accept this resolution."

Iraq has on many occasions expressed its readiness to cooperate with the Security Council, the Special Commission and IAEA in the implementation of resolution 687 (1991), just as it has also conveyed its acceptance in principle of future monitoring so that the Council may ascertain that the production of weapons prohibited by resolution 687 (1991) is not resumed. The Security Council is fully aware of the extent to which the obligations imposed on Iraq by resolution 687 (1991) have thus far been fulfilled, and we shall give particular attention to this matter in the third part of this letter.

The Security Council, which has waged such a ferocious campaign against Iraq for close to two years, has not, however, given any thought to devoting a single moment of its time to following up another essential part of resolution 687 (1991), namely that in which the Council:

> "Takes note that the actions to be taken by Iraq in paragraphs 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 of the present resolution represent steps towards the goal of establishing in the Middle East a zone free from weapons of mass destruction and all missiles for their delivery and the objective of a global ban on chemical weapons".

This vital part of the resolution is of the Security Council's own making, but the Council has done nothing to follow it up at the very time the feverish pace of the arms race in the region is accelerating, including that for the possession of weapons of mass destruction. Disregard for this part of the resolution or failure to ensure its proper implementation would do serious damage not only to the concept of security and to the possibility of its establishment in the region but also to the security and sovereignty of other States in the region, among them Iraq.

All the facts indicate that Israel possesses a large arsenal of nuclear and chemical weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles, and this has been confirmed by many well-known studies and reports and has been the subject of numerous resolutions adopted by the Security Council, the General Assembly and IAEA. It is also firmly established that Israel is constantly strengthening and expanding this arsenal with direct assistance from the Government of the United States, the leader of the ruthless campaign against Iraq inside and outside the Security Council.

There are also daily reports that convey disturbing news of very large arms deals being made by Iran with many countries for the purpose of obtaining long-range missiles and missile technology for their production inside Iran, strengthening its arsenal of chemical weapons and developing its capacity to produce nuclear weapons. The reports, the most significant of which include reports from Western sources, even affirm that Iran is endeavouring to obtain or has perhaps already actually obtained nuclear warheads ready for use.

These facts not only raise in an acute form the question of the double standards the Security Council applies in the resolutions it adopts but also confirm the selective and biased approach that the same Council pursues in dealing with the various parts and sections of these resolutions, and particularly with regard to resolution 687 (1991). While everything relating to the denial to Iraq of the weapons prohibited by resolution 687 (1991) is given high priority in the Council's agenda and in its resolutions and procedures, the Council deliberately disregards that vital part of the resolution that relates to other countries in the region, and it leaves the way open to Israel and Iran in particular to strengthen their arsenals of weapons of mass destruction.

This reality thoroughly discredits the basis given by the Security Council for the adoption of its peculiar and unjust resolution 687 (1991) and of the other peculiar and unjust resolutions it has adopted against Iraq. It reveals, with unambiguous clarity, that the real driving force behind the adoption of this and other resolutions was not action supported by the Charter or the claim made in the preamble to the resolution that the Council was acting to maintain security and stability in the region. The true motive was rather that of destroying a particular Arab country, namely Iraq, depriving it of the means of defending itself, destroying its industrial capacities even in civilian fields, blockading it by land, sea and air, killing its people by depriving it of food and medicine, and plundering its assets deposited overseas. This has been done on the basis of an imperialist policy determined primarily by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France, which have used the Security Council as a tool for this policy with a view to restoring their control over the region and plundering its enormous oil wealth. While the facts concerning the relations of alliance and collusion between the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France and the Government of Israel have been known to all for decades past, there is abundant evidence to indicate that conniving and suspicious deals and transactions between the Governments of these three countries and the Government of Iran are also going on. This is confirmed by the indifferent

attitude they have assumed towards the de facto control exercised by the Government of Iran over islands in the Gulf belonging to the United Arab Emirates, while it was these same three countries that mounted the swiftest and largest political, diplomatic, propaganda and military campaign since the Second World War against Iraq because of the Kuwait issue. They did not in that crisis leave any room, however small, for its resolution by diplomatic means, and they did not accept any discussion short of Iraq's immediate and unconditional accession to their will. In contrast, there is at present no interdiction or abstention with regard to the diplomatic handling of the problem of the islands in the Gulf, despite the fact that Iran, a foreign and non-Arab country, is imposing de facto occupation and reinforcing it with ongoing measures.

From the experience of the past two years, it has become evident to all fair and objective observers that the stark fact is that the situation with respect to peace and stability in the region is now much worse than it was before Iraq was attacked by the coalition in January 1991 under the cloak of Security Council resolution 678 (1991) and that that situation is continuing to deteriorate and to bespeak dire consequences.

While we bear in mind the importance of dealing with the obligations imposed on us under resolution 687 (1991), as stated in the letter of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq of 6 April 1991, we affirm the foregoing facts and we affirm in particular that the implementation of resolution 687 (1991) in the biased and extreme manner observed during the past two years has rendered no service to the region in terms of strengthening its security and stability. It has, on the contrary, opened wide the way to a dangerous disequilibrium in the balance of forces in the region and to the emergence of serious threats to its security and stability such as to prompt its inhabitants and those in the outside world interested in its affairs to adopt an extremely pessimistic view of its future. This reality should be subjected to examination, as quickly as possible, in an objective manner that is not subject to the whims and personal considerations of the rulers who became embroiled in the said policies, and such examination should remain aloof from the narrow, short-term interests of certain governments that are seeking deals with which to cope with financial crises or current elections but which thereby risk forcing an important and sensitive region to enter into very dangerous labyrinths. Iraq is prepared to participate in such an examination in a spirit of responsibility and with a genuine desire to ensure balance, security and stability in the entire region.

II

We have already referred to the atmosphere of hostility against Iraq that was fabricated in connection with the implementation of resolution 687 (1991) and that has been maintained without regard for the destruction and ruin inflicted on Iraq in the military campaign waged against it by the United States and more than 30 other countries. Among the consequences of that campaign were the destruction of electric power stations, oil refineries,

communications centres, bridges and roads and government and other buildings, all of which had a far-reaching impact in the first months following the aggression on the practical ability of the Iraqi authorities to meet all of the requirements of the inspection teams that began their work of implementing section C of resolution 687 (1991) in the period 15-21 May 1991. In this charged and biased atmosphere, the Security Council adopted resolutions for which there would have been no practical need had the attitude towards Iraq been objective and fair and free of political objectives. In this atmosphere, measures were also imposed on Iraq that were prompted and instigated by certain States for the purpose of increasing the political pressure on it and threatening its sovereignty and national security. I cite by way of example the following:

1. Resolutions 707 (1991) and 715 (1991)

On 15 August 1991, the Security Council adopted its resolution 707 (1991) condemning Iraq's so-called violation of and non-compliance with its obligations under section C of resolution 687 (1991) and under its safeguards agreement with IAEA. It did so in order to justify the series of stringent measures set forth in the other operative paragraphs of the resolution, which constitute a violation of Iraq's sovereignty. One example to that effect is that resolution 707 (1991) provides that the Special Commission and IAEA should be allowed "immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to any and all areas, facilities, equipment, records and means of transportation which they wish to inspect". It also provides that they should be allowed "to conduct both fixed-wing and helicopter flights throughout Iraq for all relevant purposes including inspection, surveillance, aerial surveys, transportation and logistics without interference of any kind and upon such terms and conditions as may be determined by the Special Commission, and to make full use of their own aircraft and such airfields in Iraq as they may determine are most appropriate for the work of the Commission." It further determines "that Iraq retains no ownership interest in items to be destroyed, removed or rendered harmless". Security Council resolution 715 (1991), adopted on 11 October 1991, approves the plans submitted by the Secretary-General and the Director General of IAEA for future ongoing monitoring, which include very stringent and intrusive restrictions and terms and reflect the approach embodied in resolution 707 (1991). The provisions contained in these two resolutions reveal the most dangerous and crudest aspects of the intentions of the parties that had planned the vicious campaigns preparing the atmosphere in the Council for their adoption, after all Iraq had done to meet the obligations imposed on it by resolution 687 (1991). It is therefore essential for the Council to conduct a radical review, on a basis of justice and fairness, of the terms and provisions of these two resolutions.

2. The helicopter issue

At the beginning of July 1991, the Special Commission asked for two Iraqi helicopters so that it could use them as means of transportation for one of the inspection teams in the western zone. For technical reasons at that time,

Iraq was unable to comply. Instead of endeavouring to understand the considerations of the Iraqi side, on 10 July 1991 the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission requested that three German helicopters should be used for this purpose. Iraq objected to such use, explaining that the safe and comfortable means of surface transportation it had provided the inspection teams were such that there was no practical need to use helicopters and stating its caveats with regard to the use of non-Iraqi helicopters in the country. The Special Commission nevertheless insisted on its request, the matter became enveloped in an atmosphere of loud media uproar, and military threats were made against Iraq. Confronted with this situation, Iraq offered to make available Iraqi helicopters for the purpose in question, but the Special Commission, which had requested Iraqi helicopters a few days before, insisted on using the German helicopters, stating at the time that their utilization would be of short duration and would perhaps last for no more than two months. To avoid aggravating the problem, Iraq agreed to permit the German helicopters, and they arrived in the country. The temporary use of these helicopters then became transformed into a situation that has persisted up to the present.

3. The United States U-2 spy-plane

In August 1991, the Special Commission informed Iraq that it had decided to conduct aerial surveys over Iraqi territory for the purpose both of identifying any additional inspection sites and of ensuring ongoing monitoring and verification of Iraq's compliance with the provisions of resolution 687 (1991) at either declared sites or those designated by the Special Commission. Iraq was informed that United States aircraft would be used, flying from Saudi Arabia: if Iraq did not approve such flights, they would be escorted by military aircraft for their protection. Although Iraq objected to this request, both because the aircraft designated for this intrusive and quasi-military task would not fly any higher than the satellites continuously performing surveillance of Iraq and because the choice of a United States aircraft gave rise to suspicions that the mission would be carried out for purposes other than those declared by the United Nations, the Special Commission paid no heed to Iraq's objection. The Special Commission proceeded to draw up a regular programme of flights and to operate that programme, on an obligatory basis, in accordance with a procedure whereby the Iraqi side was notified of the dates of such flights and acknowledged receipt of such notification. The Special Commission subsequently announced that the United States U-2 spy-plane would be used for this purpose, despite the fact that the selection of this single-seat aircraft violated the undertaking previously given by the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission in his letter dated 15 May 1991 concerning the Special Commission's privileges and immunities in Iraq. Under the terms of that letter, "the Government of Iraq may in each case designate an observer to accompany the team taking the aerial photography".

The issue of the helicopters and the U-2 aircraft was explicitly raised at the meeting between the Security Council and the Iraqi delegation under Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz held on 11 and 12 March 1992. The Iraqi

delegation indicated that the use of such aircraft, being the property of foreign States, was not in fact designed to meet the declared objectives of inspection and technical observation but instead for the purpose of gathering intelligence on behalf of certain Governments which are endeavouring to undermine the internal situation in Iraq and, disgracefully, to eliminate its national leadership. These, indeed, are among the declared objectives of those Governments.

Our many letters addressed to you, together with established facts, confirm that the activities of the helicopters and the United States U-2 aircraft have, for the most part, been directed towards such objectives.

In this connection, the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Tariq Aziz, spoke as follows at the meeting of the Security Council held on 11 March 1992:

> "We have a right here to raise doubts and apprehensions. For how are we to interpret the fact that we have seen this aircraft conduct around 15 flights over Baghdad alone, each flight lasting three to four hours; and that this operation was repeated several times within one month earlier this year? Why is it that we fail to choose another aircraft, from an impartial State, to operate from an Iraqi airfield with an Iraqi pilot accompanying its crew, in order that we may be satisfied that the operation will be carried out to accomplish the objectives of resolution 687 (1991) and not political or intelligence objectives threatening Iraq's security? How long will these extraordinary measures continue? Does not the basic principle of respect for Iraq's sovereignty and security call for the determination of a reasonable period for these suspect reconnaissance operations to be brought to an end? It is imperative, therefore, that this subject be discussed in a serious and fair manner." (S/PV.3059)

The time has come for the Security Council to review these unjust decisions and measures, which threaten the security and sovereignty of Iraq, and to make balanced practical arrangements with the Iraqi side in order to exclude biased political and intelligence-related factors, to keep the issue in a scientific and technical context related to the objectives of resolution 687 (1991) and to ensure that each measure has a specific time-frame. While affirming its readiness to maintain objective and constructive cooperation with the Security Council for the purpose of making such arrangements, Iraq expects a new style of treatment from the Security Council, based on objectivity, fairness and understanding of these legitimate considerations. It also expects the Council, in its dealings with Iraq, to distance itself from the particular political influences and biased objectives of certain Governments. The adoption of such a course by the Security Council will be welcomed by the Iraqi side and will strengthen the foundations of constructive cooperation between the two parties.

We do not believe that it is right for the Security Council - as an institution with specific declared purposes - to push matters in directions which do not fulfil the objectives for which the Council was established.

Nor, irrespective of the aims of certain members of the Council to which we have already referred, do we believe that it is right for the Security Council to push matters in directions which neither it nor Iraq initially desires or chooses.

4. Prohibition of Iraqi flights north of the 36th parallel and south of the 32nd parallel

The Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France have arrogated to themselves the right to launch an assault on Iraq's sovereignty and flagrantly to interfere in its internal affairs. Without any justification under the Charter or the precepts governing relations between States, and in the context of a tendentious media campaign filled with false allegations, these three States imposed a ban on activity by any Iraqi aircraft north of the 36th parallel with effect from 6 April 1991. The three aforementioned States even went so far as to reject our request to resume civilian flights to Mosul, a city whose population is - and has been throughout history - overwhelmingly Arab, simply on the grounds that it lies within the area drawn by the pens of those countries' military personnel. They also turned down our request to use helicopters at Mosul for the evacuation of injured persons and emergency cases of a humanitarian nature.

These States then took identical measures in southern Iraq, imposing without justification a ban on Iraqi flights south of the 32nd parallel.

Iraq is aware that these measures were not taken on the basis of a Security Council resolution. However, it wishes to register with the Council a vigorous protest against the autocratic actions of hegemonistic States which claim, by virtue of their membership of the Security Council, to be endeavouring to help the Council to achieve its objectives of peace and security. It calls on the international community to condemn those actions and to show solidarity with Iraq by urging their rejection and the accordance of respect for Iraq's absolute sovereignty over its territory and airspace. These States' behaviour, and the measures taken by them against Iraq, are incompatible with a number of Security Council resolutions which affirm respect for Iraq's sovereignty and independence. Such behaviour and outrageous autocratic measures entirely undermine the legitimacy of the resolutions so long as the Security Council itself fails to address this issue.

III

Security Council resolution 661 (1990) was adopted on 6 August 1990 in connection with Iraq's compliance with resolution 660 (1990), adopted on 3 August 1990. Until the date of the military aggression against Iraq on 17 January 1991, the question of the embargo against Iraq remained linked to compliance with resolution 660 (1990).

However, after the military aggression against Iraq, influential members of the Security Council - and particularly the United States - imposed fresh

conditions for lifting the embargo which they incorporated into resolution 687 (1991).

This tightening of the terms imposed on Iraq clearly demonstrates an essential fact which has been gradually revealed with the passing of time, especially since the end of the military aggression against Iraq and the end of the Kuwait issue. The truth is that the campaign of hostility against Iraq, including all the elements which both preceded and followed 2 August 1990, did not derive from the Kuwait issue but from a decision taken by the Government of the United States, in conjunction and by agreement with the United Kingdom and France, and with direct and indirect participation by Israel, both to destroy the military force which Iraq had built up - for defensive purposes - in conditions of defence against the Iranian aggression and to wreck the achievements of Iraq's resurgence and scientific, technological and economic progress. This decision was taken because the United States, the Western countries and Israel saw Iraq's achievements in this regard as a violation of the status they had planned for the Middle East region, whereby the region was to be kept weak and underdeveloped, constantly at the mercy of Israeli military supremacy and under the direct or indirect domination of the United States and its Western allies, in order to ensure their control of oil resources and absolute power to determine the uses, commercialization and pricing of oil, as well as their ability to dictate trends and the level of development in the region and Third World countries in such a way as to prevent other parties from choosing any alternative.

This fact has been vividly demonstrated in the provisions of resolution 687 (1991) and of the subsequent resolutions adopted by the Security Council, and in the obligatory aggressive attitude to Iraq, in all its continuing forms and phases, ever since the end of the military operations.

At this stage we must register the fact that certain permanent members of the Security Council asserted, both before and during the military aggression, that their position with respect to all the forms of prohibition and sanctions mentioned in resolution 661 (1990) and others depended on Iraq's attitude to resolution 660 (1990).

At the talks in Moscow between Mr. Tariq Aziz, at that time Deputy Prime Minister and also Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on 18 and 21 February 1991, Mr. Gorbachev affirmed that a clear declaration by the Iraqi leadership of compliance with resolution 660 (1990) would automatically invalidate resolution 661 (1990) and lead to removal of all the sanctions imposed on Iraq under that and other resolutions so far adopted.

This is evident in the plan announced by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on 22 February 1991 and approved by Iraq, which included the following provisions:

1. Iraq agrees to implement resolution 660 (1990), i.e. to withdraw unconditionally all its forces to the positions in which they were located on 1 August 1990.

2. The withdrawal shall commence on the day following a cease-fire encompassing all military operations on land, at sea and in the air.

3. Forces shall be withdrawn within 21 days, including withdrawal of forces from Kuwait City within the first four days.

4. Immediately upon completion of the withdrawal of forces from Kuwait, the causes which gave rise to the adoption of the other Security Council resolutions shall be deemed to have lapsed, and those resolutions shall therefore no longer be valid.

5. All prisoners of war shall be released within three days of the cease-fire and the cessation of military operations.

6. Supervision and monitoring of the cease-fire and withdrawal of forces shall be undertaken by observers or peace-keeping forces as determined by the Security Council.

However, the Soviet Security Council representative very quickly contradicted the position previously adopted by Gorbachev on 22 February 1991 when, on 3 April 1991, he voted for resolution 687 (1991), which added fresh conditions with respect to the economic embargo. China, on the other hand, maintained its position by abstaining from the vote, as it had done in the case of resolution 678 (1990).

Paragraph 22 of resolution 687 (1991) linked the question of lifting the ban on oil imports from Iraq to its application of section C of the resolution, as follows:

> "Decides that upon the approval by the Security Council of the programme called for in paragraph 19 above [i.e. arrangements for the compensation fund programme] and upon Council agreement that Iraq has completed all actions contemplated in paragraphs 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 above [i.e. the disarmament paragraphs], the prohibitions against the import of commodities and products originating in Iraq and the prohibitions against financial transactions related thereto contained in resolution 661 (1990) shall have no further force or effect."

As Iraq progressively discharged the obligations imposed on it under, inter alia, section C of resolution 687 (1991), it called - without success - for a full or partial removal of the ban on Iraqi oil exports, with a view to meeting the basic civilian needs of the Iraqi people.

On 23 January 1992 the Minister for Foreign Affairs sent a letter to which he annexed a comprehensive report containing a documented factual review of all those obligations imposed on Iraq under resolution 687 (1991) that had so far been discharged. In that letter, he requested the lifting of sanctions against Iraq as well as a meeting on the subject between the Security Council and a high-level Iraqi politico-technical delegation. The final part of the letter read as follows:

"Iraq calls upon the Security Council to look deeply and objectively into this matter, away from the political objectives sought by certain countries. Iraq also invites the Security Council to appoint a mission consisting of members with no special political pretexts or objectives against Iraq, to examine these facts and present its conclusions to the Council. Iraq is ready to receive any such mission interested in conducting an on-the-spot investigation of the facts. Iraq is also prepared to dispatch a high-level delegation to New York to discuss these facts with the mission proposed herein, and submit Iraq's views and position before the Security Council." (S/23472)

The meeting actually took place on 11 March 1992, when the head of the Iraqi delegation, Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz, delivered a comprehensive address to the Council covering essential aspects of the obligations imposed on Iraq under resolution 687 (1991) which had already been discharged. In addition, at the meeting held the following day, on 12 March 1992, he replied to statements and questions raised by members of the Council.

The Iraqi delegation requested that the sanctions against Iraq be lifted and stressed the fair and realistic principle whereby, regardless of any difference of opinion over the extent to which the obligations imposed on Iraq under resolution 687 (1991) had been discharged, no one could deny that the proportion of fulfilled obligations was high. In his address to the Council on 11 March 1992, Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz said the following:

"In spite of all that has been fulfilled in the context of implementing the provisions of resolution 687 (1991), the Council has not budged an inch in its position on the question of the embargo. Nor has the Council taken into consideration adherence to the United Nations Charter and international law in respect of the rights of the civilian population."

He went on to address the members of the Council as follows:

"You, members of the Council, ask Iraq to implement this and comply with that, and Iraq has been fulfilling its obligations month after month. We have submitted to the Council a comprehensive, factual report on what has been fulfilled, and have expressed our willingness to cooperate on sound bases emanating from the United Nations Charter and from the principles of justice and fairness.

"What obligations has the Council, for its part, fulfilled towards the people of Iraq? The answer is none whatsoever. Even when the Council adopted a resolution formally, and theoretically, allowing Iraq to export limited quantities of oil in order to be able to pay for food and medical purchases, the Council included, both in the resolution itself and in the implementation plan, an endless list of preconditions, all of which infringe upon Iraq's sovereignty and security: preconditions which constitute flagrant interference in Iraq's internal affairs and which stem from ill-intended political objectives. The Council has imposed further preconditions which practically prevent Iraq from meeting its people's needs for food and medicine." (S/PV.3059)

The Iraqi delegation urged the Security Council to reconsider that position and to adopt a fair and just stance.

However, the Council persisted in ignoring Iraq's legitimate requests, maintained its sanctions policy and adopted further iniquitous resolutions and measures.

The experience of continued sanctions against Iraq over the past two years, particularly if account is also taken of the wide-ranging destruction wrought by the military aggression on all civilian infrastructure, civilian and industrial centres and public facilities on the pretext of implementing resolution 687 (1991), in effect means the commission of genocide against the people of Iraq. Legal and moral responsibility for this crime lies with those who joined in the adoption of these unjust resolutions and with those members of the Security Council - each according to his deeds and his intentions - who remained silent in the face of continuing sanctions, their consciences unmoved by the tragic and bitter suffering of the Iraqi people. There is no doubt that the major responsibility for this crime rests on the shoulders of the Government of the United States, of those who, with it, instigated and took part in the military aggression against Iraq and of those who still abet and demand the maintenance of sanctions.

The imposition of sanctions on Iraq in this manner has led to a rise in the monthly death rate of children under five years of age from 712 for the period from August to December 1991 to 3,895 in February 1992. For children over five years of age, the rate rose from 1,833 to 6,149 between the two periods cited. Deaths among children under five years of age rose by 667 per cent between May 1989 and the end of May 1992, while deaths among people over fifty years of age rose by 231 per cent over the same period.

Sanctions have also caused Iraqi students to be deprived of many teaching and education requirements. In addition, the Iraqi people has been subjected to harsh and bitter suffering as a result of the shortage of foodstuffs, medicines and medical supplies. There has been a decline in the level of all forms of services, and many medical products and essential everyday items are unavailable.

Despite the meagreness of the resources still available to it under the conditions of the economic embargo, Iraq has tried to use those resources to meet some of the people's essential everyday requirements. However, the Sanctions Committee, each of whose members - very oddly - effectively enjoys a right of veto, has at the prompting of certain States adopted biased and shameful positions in refusing to approve the purchase by Iraq of many such urgent civilian requirements. I should like to refer in this regard to the letters addressed to the Secretary-General by the Minister for Foreign Affairs on 27 June 1992, 26 June 1992, 7 August 1992 and 20 September 1992, listing examples of the requests rejected by members of the Council and the Committee. These facts, as we place them on the record, represent a stain on the history both of the United Nations and of those countries.

The Sanctions Committee has either refused or suspended the delivery to Iraq of, for example: heaters for maternity hospitals; water purification supplies; medical equipment; fabrics; men's and women's clothing; school notebooks; pencils; pencil-sharpeners; rulers; anti-malaria chemicals; colouring pencils; spare parts for water purification equipment and reconstruction of the medical vaccine plant; leather for shoe production; water pumps; steel and plastic for water pipes; ten bread ovens; razor blades; plastic containers for hospitals; glass for hospitals; cotton for medical purposes; spare parts for agricultural machinery; agricultural tools; electric lamps; spare parts for refrigerators; water pipes; fluorescent bulbs; cotton textiles for sanitary clothing; textiles for the production of bedcovers; children's bicycles; fire-fighting supplies; soya bean oil; and adhesive products for medical belts.

The time has come to end this squalid operation whereby genocide continues to be committed against an entire people.

The Security Council is urged to review its position and attitude towards Iraq, a founder Member of the United Nations and an ancient country which was the cradle of civilizations and has made distinguished contributions to human civilization.

In connection with our call on the Security Council to act in this way, we shall shortly send a further factual report on the extent to which the obligations imposed on Iraq under resolution 687 (1991) have been discharged, as a follow-up to our action on 21 January 1992 and to the meeting between the Iraqi delegation and the Security Council held in March 1992.

Iraq is prepared, as it was in March 1992, to examine and to present this report directly to the Special Commission, the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Security Council.

Iraq reminds the Council of its responsibilities.

(Signed) Mohammed Said AL-SAHAF
Minister for Foreign Affairs
of the Republic of Iraq

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SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-seventh year

Letter dated 27 October 1992 from the Permanent Representatives of the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

We have the honour to forward herewith the text of the joint communiqué about the negotiations between the President of the Republic of Moldova, Mr. Mircea Snegur, and the President of Ukraine, Mr. Leonid Kravchuk, during the official visit of Mr. Kravchuk to the Republic of Moldova, signed at Chisinau on 23 October 1992 (see annex).

We should be extremely grateful if the necessary arrangements could be made to circulate as urgently as possible the text of the present letter and its annex as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 69, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Tudor PANTIRU
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of the
Republic of Moldova

(Signed) Victor BATIOUK
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of
Ukraine

ANNEX

Joint communiqué on negotiations between the President of the Republic of Moldova, Mr. Mircea Snegur, and the President of Ukraine, Mr. Leonid Kravchuk

On 23 October 1992, at the invitation of President Mircea Snegur, the President of Ukraine, Mr. Leonid Kravchuk, came to the Republic of Moldova on an official visit.

In the course of their negotiations, the two Presidents conducted an exchange of views on a wide range of issues relating to bilateral and international relations.

The desire of both States to strengthen and expand their traditionally friendly bilateral relations was noted. The parties discussed specific areas of developing mutually advantageous cooperation to meet the national interests and further the cause of reaffirming universal human values and the principles of international law in relations between countries. In particular, the parties reaffirmed the undertaking to observe, in their good-neighbourly partnership relations between friendly States, the principles of sovereign equality, non-use of force or of the threat of force, inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the right of peoples to self-determination, and faithful compliance with international obligations as well as of the norms set forth in documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

As a result of the negotiations, which took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and constructive dialogue, a Treaty on good-neighbourly relations, friendship and cooperation between the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine was signed.

The parties unanimously consider that the summit meeting between the Heads of State of the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine has special significance. The treaty signed by them consolidates the principles of bilateral relations, assists the development of mutually advantageous cooperation in conformity with the interests and aspirations of the two peoples, and serves the strengthening of peace and security both within the region and on the scale of the European continent.

In building their relations upon principles of good-neighbourliness in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Helsinki Final Act, the Paris Charter for a New Europe and other CSCE documents, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine will contribute towards the cause of constructing a new, peaceful and united Europe.

The parties informed each other of the political, economic and social processes taking part in their countries, the progress achieved in carrying

out wide-scale economic reforms, in the transition to a market economy and in measures being adopted towards the social protection of the population, as well as of the guaranteeing of the rights and freedoms and the development of the distinctive identity of their national minorities living in the other party's territory.

Recognizing that economic and trade cooperation forms an important integral part of bilateral relations, the parties agreed that specific mechanisms governing such relations will be regulated by intergovernmental agreements.

President Snegur provided President Kravchuk with detailed information concerning steps being taken towards a political settlement of the conflict in the eastern parts of the Republic of Moldova, noting specially the positive role played by the four-State political mechanism and stressing the need to intensify its activities in that respect.

President Kravchuk reaffirmed his country's sincere interest in the earliest solution of this problem, stating that Ukraine will continue in future to stand for the strict observance of the principles of inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and protection of human rights and the rights of minorities.

The parties noted that the conflict must be settled exclusively by peaceful political means and stressed the need to enhance the role of international mechanisms, and in particular of the United Nations and CSCE, in the search for a mutually acceptable settlement. The Presidents adopted an initiative to hold, in the nearest future, a special meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the four States - Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation and Ukraine - with the participation of representatives of the United Nations and CSCE.

The Republic of Moldova and Ukraine will pursue their fruitful cooperation within the framework of the United Nations, CSCE and other international organizations and will continue to consult each other regularly on matters of mutual interest.

Chisinau, 23 October 1992.

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29 October 1992
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NOTE BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Following consultations with the members of the Security Council, the President of the Council made the following statement, on behalf of the Council, at its 3128th meeting, held on 29 October 1992, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "An agenda for peace: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping":

"Pursuant to the President's statement of 30 June 1992 (S/24210), the Security Council has begun to examine the Secretary-General's report entitled 'An agenda for peace' (S/24111).

This examination of 'An agenda for peace' by the Security Council will be coordinated with the discussions carried out in the General Assembly. The Council welcomes in this regard the contact already established between the Presidents of the two organs and invites its President to continue and intensify such contacts.

The Security Council intends to examine the proposals of the Secretary-General which concern it or are addressed to it. For this purpose, the members of the Council have decided to hold a meeting at least once a month on the report, such meetings being prepared for, as necessary, by a working group.

One objective of this examination is to arrive at conclusions which would be considered during a special meeting of the Security Council. The Council will determine the date of this meeting, bearing in mind the progress of the work at the present session of the General Assembly, but it hopes to hold the meeting by next spring at the latest.

The Security Council has followed with close interest the views expressed by Member States in the General Assembly during the general debate as well as during the discussion on item 10 of the agenda of the General Assembly. It has also noted the report of the special session of

the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/47/386). It has now identified the Secretary-General's proposals which concern it or are addressed to it.

Without prejudice to the further examination of other proposals of the Secretary-General, and taking into account the greatly increased number and complexity of peace-keeping operations authorized by the Council during recent months, the Council believes that two suggestions contained in 'An agenda for peace' should be considered at this moment:

- The Security Council, in accordance with the recommendations contained in paragraph 51 of the Secretary-General's report, encourages Member States to inform the Secretary-General of their willingness to provide forces or capabilities to the United Nations for peace-keeping operations and the type of units or capabilities that might be available at short notice, subject to overriding national defence requirements and the approval of the Governments providing them. It further encourages the Secretariat and those Member States which have indicated such willingness to enter into direct dialogue so as to enable the Secretary-General to know with greater precision what forces or capabilities might be made available to the United Nations for particular peace-keeping operations, and on what time-scale;

- The Security Council shares the view of the Secretary-General in paragraph 52 of his report concerning the need for an augmentation of the strength and capability of military staff serving in the Secretariat and of civilian staff dealing more generally with peace-keeping matters in the Secretariat. The Council suggests to the Secretary-General that he report to it, as well as to the General Assembly, on this subject as soon as possible. The Secretary-General might consider in his report the establishment in the Secretariat of an enhanced peace-keeping planning staff and an operations centre in order to deal with the growing complexity of initial planning and control of peace-keeping operations in the field. The Council further suggests to Member States that they consider making available to the Secretariat appropriately experienced military or civilian staff, for a fixed period of time, to help with work on peace-keeping operations.

Moreover, the Security Council intends to study those paragraphs which are addressed to it, including paragraph 41 concerning the special economic problems which may concern other States when sanctions are imposed on a State, paragraphs 64 and 65 concerning the role of regional organizations, and paragraph 25 concerning resort by the United Nations to fact-finding."

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LETTER DATED 29 OCTOBER 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ALBANIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to transmit herewith the letter dated 29 October 1992 addressed to you by H.E. Mr. Aleksander Meksi, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Albania (see annex).

I should be grateful if the text of the present letter and its annex could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Thanas SHKURTI
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

Annex

Letter dated 29 October 1992 from the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Albania addressed to the President of the Security Council

I have the honour to address myself to you to share my ever-growing concern about the risk of the escalation of the conflict in former Yugoslavia to Kosova. The danger has been there for quite a long time now, and every day adds to it new elements.

While international public opinion has been largely focused on the tragedy and atrocities of armed conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, less attention has been paid to the continued confrontation in Kosova between the Albanians and the Serbian authorities.

This year a number of European and other organizations began to be seized of the crisis in Kosova. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) has sent there a number of rapporteurs and fact-finding missions, whose conclusions have sounded the alarm to the international community. Even then they concluded that "there is sufficient manpower and equipment to deploy, without reinforcement, should the Corps be tasked with a secondary role in support of the civil manpower" (report of the CSCE Conflict Prevention Centre fact-finding mission to Kosova) and the situation is "extremely dangerous and requires immediate international attention" (report of the CSCE Human Rights Rapporteur's mission to Yugoslavia).

In spite of all the efforts made by the Albanian political forces and the population, the situation since then has taken a dramatic turn. Both the army and the police are daily intimidating the population and provoking a start of the massacre. They have finally translated fearful omnipresence into defiant physical abuse with a view to finding an excuse to start the massacre. The peaceful demonstrations organized last week in protest against the ban on education in Albania were suppressed with violence. About a hundred people were injured and a lot more thrown in jail. The population avoided direct confrontation.

The European Community and CSCE have called for preventive measures to be applied in Kosova. The CSCE Helsinki Summit reiterated the demand. On the other hand the Secretary-General's "An agenda for peace" has offered a broad range of means to be used. In this context, I think that the Security Council has a big role to play. The question of Kosova must be addressed quickly. Another Bosnian-type tragedy of wider proportions must be nipped. Precisely to this end, Albania suggests that the issue be taken over by the Security Council for discussion. We think that measures should be taken to prevent the outbreak of conflict, by, inter alia, sending United Nations preventive deployment forces on the border between Kosova and Serbia, as in the case of the European Community monitors in the neighbouring countries, establishing a permanent presence in conjunction with regional organizations, and a no-fly

zone in Kosova to pre-empt Serbian aggression there. The following steps will also help to defuse the conflict and restore confidence:

(a) Withdrawal and demobilization of military personnel in Kosova like certain military contingents of the former Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), which had been in Macedonia and which are now stationed in Kosova; and United Nations control over them;

(b) Disbanding and disarming of all paramilitary units. Albania supports the demand of the Albanian political forces in Kosova that all paramilitary units in Kosova, including the notorious "White Eagles" that come from the outside, be immediately disbanded and disarmed;

(c) Preventing forced displacement of the population (the policy of ethnic cleansing has already begun there, as testified by the report of Mr. Maszowievski);

(d) Political negotiating for a peaceful and durable solution to the crisis. A lasting solution to the crisis in Kosova can be found through an effective political agreement among the Albanian legitimate political authorities and Serbian authorities. The Serbs would not negotiate with the Albanians of Kosova except on the basis of the new Serbian Constitution, which gives away even the provisions on autonomy and human rights that Kosova enjoyed before. Albania supports endeavours to resolve differences through a negotiated political solution of the problems in the region and, to that end, stresses the need to cooperate with the renewed efforts of the European Community and the United Nations, within the framework of the Conference on Yugoslavia.

Without these measures unarmed Kosovars will hardly survive unrestrained Serbian barbarism. The danger of war in Kosova is becoming one of the most critical problems which the Security Council and the United Nations must take over.

As a country directly affected by everything that may happen to the 3 million Albanians, Albania is very much concerned. Its very future depends on a just solution of the crisis there. In view of the imminent danger of conflict we therefore consider it of the utmost urgency that the Security Council discuss the present situation in Kosova in one of its coming meetings and adopt the relevant preventive measures. In that way only can the Council do service to the cause of peace and security in the Balkans and in the broader context. The international community must stand firmly against the tendency to think that "might is right", and the impression that smaller countries must procure arms to protect themselves and must forget about market economies and free societies because the international community is not going to help them. As events and conflicts in other parts have demonstrated, the problems cannot be resolved by force of arms, and we hope that nobody will accept results achieved by that method. We hope also that the Serbian regime fully understands this message.

Aleksander MEKSI

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LETTER DATED 29 OCTOBER 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ALBANIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Corrigendum

Annex

Letter dated 29 October 1992 from the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Albania addressed to the President of the Security Council

Fourth paragraph

The fourth sentence should read

> The peaceful demonstrations organized last week in protest against the ban on education in Albanian were suppressed with violence.

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LETTER DATED 29 OCTOBER 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ARMENIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to transmit herewith a facsimile letter from His Excellency, Mr. Levon Ter-Petrossian, President of the Republic of Armenia, dated 29 October 1992, welcoming the statement issued by the Security Council on 27 October 1992 regarding the conflict in Nagorny Karabagh (S/24721).

I would be grateful if you would have this letter circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Alexander ARZOUMANIAN
Permanent Representative

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Annex

Letter dated 29 October 1992 from the President of the Republic of Armenia addressed to the President of the Security Council

The Government of the Republic of Armenia welcomes the statement issued by the Security Council on 27 October 1992 on the conflict in Nagorny Karabagh (S/24721).

Consistent with our policy to seek a peaceful and negotiated solution to the conflict and in line with our positive response last 29 September to Minsk Group Chairman Mario Raffaelli's similar appeal, Armenia accepts fully and unconditionally the renewed call by the Security Council for an immediate cessation of hostilities.

Armenia is ready to cooperate with the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in this respect and looks forward to the visit by the representative of the United Nations to the region.

(Signed) Levon TER-PETROSSIAN